

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 191604Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8845

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MOSCOW 0771

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, AO

SUBJ: SOVIET POLICY IN ANGOLA

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THOUGH OUR INFORMATION ON SUBJECT IS FAR FROM COMPLETE, OUR ANALYSIS OF SOVIET POLICY ON ANGOLA CONCLUDES THAT IN SOVIET VIEW THEIR ACTIONS TO DATE ARE JUSTIFIED AND ON BALANCE SUCCESSFUL, EXCEPT IN REGARD TO THEIR IMPACT ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. WE CAN DISCERN NO STRONG U.S. LEVERAGE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS, HOWEVER, WHICH DOES NOT IMPINGE ON U.S. INTERESTS AT LEAST AS MUCH AS SOVIET. IT APPEARS TO US, THEREFORE, THAT--UNLESS PRESSURE CAN BE BROUGHT TO BEAR IN WAYS NOT APPARENT TO US HERE--THE BEST SOVIETS WILL BE WILLING TO DO IN ORDER TO SHORE UP DETENTE IMAGE IN U.S. WOULD BE TO REFRAIN FROM LARGE ADDITIONAL INCREMENTS IN SOVIET AND CUBAN ASSISTANCE TO MPLA, TO PAY LIP SERVICE TO IDEA OF COALITION (UNDER MPLA HEGEMONY), AND PERHAPS TO PROMISE GRADUAL REDUCTION IN SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE IF SOUTH AFRICA WITHDRAWS. EVEN THESE LIMITED CONCESSIONS WOULD PROBABLY BE IMPLICITLY CONTINGENT ON MPLA MAINTAINING MILITARY INITIATIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. ALTHOUGH WE ARE MISSING SEVERAL IMPORTANT PIECES OF THE PUZZLE, IT MAY BE USEFUL AT THIS POINT TO PUT DOWN OUR IMPRESSIONS AS TO THE REASONS FOR MOSCOW'S

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ACTIONS IN ANGOLA AND TO ADDRESS THE POSSIBILITY OF

A KREMLIN RETREAT FROM A POLICY WHICH HAS HAD SOME SUCCESS ON THE GROUND IN AFRICA BUT WHICH HAS INEVITABLY RESULTED IN DAMAGE TO U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

3. REASONS FOR SOVIET ANGOLA POLICY. WE CAN THINK OF EIGHT INTERTWINING CAUSES WHICH IMPELLED THE SOVIETS TO ACT IN ANGOLA:

A. SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION. GROMYKO'S SEPTEMBER KOMMUNIST ARTICLE, WHICH LAID OUT THE PRINCIPLES AND FRAMEWORK OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY IN PREPARATION FOR THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS, STRESSED THREE MAJOR FOUNDATIONS OF THAT POLICY--I.E., 1) CONSOLIDATION OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP; 2) DETENTE WITH THE WEST; 3) SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION. THE SOVIETS HAVE STATED REPEATEDLY THAT THEY SEE NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND DETENTE. ANGOLA WOULD SEEM TO BE A CLASSIC EXAMPLE OF THAT THESIS. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS AT PRESENT JUSTIFY THEIR ASSISTANCE TO THE MPLA AS AID TO A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT, THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR ANGOLA POLICY--IN THEIR EYES AS WELL AS IN THEIR PROPAGANDA--IS IN THEIR ASSERTED RIGHT TO ASSIST A NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, WITH OR WITHOUT THE WIND AT ITS SAILS.

B. SUPPORT FOR AN ALLY. THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN BACKING THE MPLA SINCE 1956. ONE OF THEIR CLEAR AIMS IN ANGOLA IS TO DEMONSTRATE TO OTHERS THAT THE USSR IS A RELIABLE FRIEND AND THAT IT WILL NOT LET DOWN AN ALLY. IN THIS REGARD, IT MIGHT BE OF POSSIBLE INTEREST TO NOTE THAT NETO WAS PRESENT AT THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS OF THE CPSU.

C. MAINTENANCE OF REVOLUTIONARY CREDENTIALS. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR MOSCOW TO KEEP UP ITS REVOLUTIONARY CREDENTIALS, NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT ASPIRES TO LEADERSHIP IN THE THIRD WORLD AND IN THE COMMUNIST AND "PROGRESSIVE" CAMPS, BUT FOR PURPOSES OF MAINTAINING ITS OWN INTERNAL LEGITIMACY AS WELL. THE SECRET

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MESSAGE THAT THE USSR ADOPTS A "PRINCIPLED" POSITION IN ITS SUPPORT FOR "WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION" IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT TO THE SOVIETS BOTH INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY.

D. THE CHINA FACTOR. PEKING AND MOSCOW ARE LOCKED IN WHAT BOTH SIDES REGARD AS A "ZERO-SUM" GAME WHEREBY WHAT IS GOOD FOR MOSCOW'S NATIONAL INTERESTS

IS THOUGH TO BE BAD FOR PEKING'S, AND VICE VERSA. THE FACT THAT THE CHINESE WERE SUPPORTING A GROUP OPPOSED TO THE MPLA MADE IT ALMOST A CERTAINTY THAT MOSCOW WOULD FEEL COMPELLED TO TAKE SOME STEPS TO BOLSTER ITS CLIENT IN ANGOLA. THE SOVIETS DESIRE TO DIMINISH CHINESE INFLUENCE IN THE THIRD WORLD AND TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THERE IS NO TRUTH IN PEKING'S ASSERTION THAT THE SOVIETS ARE A STATUS QUO POWER BASICALLY IN OPPOSITION TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD.

E. ENHANCE THE SOVIET IMAGE IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE. THE SOVIETS SAW THE APRIL 25 COUP IN PORTUGAL AS AN EXTRAORDINARY OPPORTUNITY TO STEP UP THEIR INFLUENCE AND PRESTIGE IN AFRICA. IN THIS REGARD, THEY WERE UNDOUBTEDLY ALSO ENCOURAGED BY THE SUCCESS OF FRELIMO IN MOZAMBIQUE AND WERE ANXIOUS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE TIDE WAS MOVING IN THEIR DIRECTION IN AFRICA. THE KREMLIN REGARDS ITS FORTUITOUS URECT OPPOSITION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN 043 3,CE IN ANGOLA AS A MAJOR POLITICAL AND PROPAGANDA TRIUMUY. THE FACT THAT THIS HAS STRUCK A SYMPATHETIC WHORD IN COUNTRIES AS IMPORTANT AS NIGERIA MAY WELL BE CONSIDERED BY THE KREMLIN AS AMPLE JUSTIFICATION IN ITSELF FOR MOSCOW'S ANGOLA POLICY.

F. SOVIET INTERNAL IMPERATIVES FOR SUCCESS IN ANGOLA. GIVEN RECENT FOREIGN POLICY REVERSES, PARTICULARLY EGYPT BUT PORTUGAL AS WELL, MOSCOW PROBABLY FELT THAT IT COULD NOT AFFORD ANOTHER OBVIOUS SETBACK, PARTICULARLY IN A SITUATION WHERE THE U.S. WAS SEEN TO BE THE "WINNER." THIS IS DOUBLY THE CASE IN VIEW OF STRONG U.S. CONGRESSIONAL AND

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PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA. (OUR GUESS WOULD BE THAT LOCAL EXPERTS ON THE U.S. ADVISED THAT OUR DOMESTIC CONSTRAINTS WRE SUCH THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY WE WOULD FACE UP TO A "TOUGH" SOVIET POLICY IN ANGOLA.) WITH THE PARTY CONGRESS APPROACHING, ANGOLA THUS OFFERED A CONCRETE FOREIGN POLICY GAIN IN SUPPORT OF ORTHODOX IDEOLIGICAL THEMES AT AN OPPORTUNE TIME FOR BREZHNEV.

G. COUNTERING THE U.S. WHETHER THEY ACTUALLY BELIEVE IT OR NOT IS ANOTHER QUESTION, BUT OUR VARIOUS CONTACTS AS WELL AS SOURCES FOR LOCAL NEWS- MEN HAVE CONSISTENTLY ARGUED THAT, IN INCREASING ASSISTANCE TO THE MPLA ABOVE MODEST LEVELS, THE USSR WAS MERELY REACTING TO US. MOVES IN ANGOLA.

FURTHERMORE, THE CLAIM IS PUT FORTH THAT THE USSR HAS NO DESIRE TO MAKE A PUBLIC ISSUE OF ANGOLA AND THAT THE SOVIETS "CANNOT UNDERSTAND" WHY THE AMERICANS HAVE BROUGHT ANGOLA TO THE FOREFRONT. THE MOST RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENT OF THIS THESIS WAS AN ARTICLE IN THE JANUARY 16 NOVOYE VREMENYE DEVOTED TO ALLEGED CIA INTERFERENCE IN ANGOLA. ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE, BASED ON AMERICAN PRESS SOURCES, A FORTY COMMITTEE MEETING IN JANUARY 1975 APPROVED A CIA PROPOSAL TO BUY FNLA AND UNITA AGREEMENT TO TORPEDO THE THREE FACTION ACCORD ON COALITION GOVERNMENT SIGNED IN KENYA JANUARY 5. THE ARTICLE STATES THAT ROBERTO HAD BEEN IN THE CIA POCKET SINCE 1961 AND THAT SAVIMBI WAS "ALSO LINKED TO U.S. INTELLIGENCE." THESE LEADERS THEREFORE "CAME OUT AGAINST" THE MPLA IN FEBRUARY AND THE TWO GROUPS THEN RECEIVED 10 MILLION DOLLARS FROM THE CIA IN JUNE. THE CLEAR IMPLICATION THAT A SOVIET READER IS INTENDED TO DRAW IS THAT IT WAS THE U.S. WHICH FIRST UPPED THE ANTE IN ANGOLA. WHILE MANY SOVIETS WILL BE MORE THAN SKEPTICAL OF THEIR OWN PROPAGANDA, THE FACT THAT THIS RATIONALE HAS BEEN WIDELY CIRCULATED WITHIN THE USSR WILL MAKE IT THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIETS TO WITHDRAW FROM OR TONE DOWN THEIR EFFORTS IN ANGOLA UNLESS IT CAN BE SHOWN THAT THEY DERIVE CLEAR BENEFIT

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8846

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H. ECONOMIC-STRATEGIC FACTORS. GEOPOLITICS IS STILL TAKEN SERIOUSLY IN MOSCOW AND THE SOVIETS ARE NOT INSENSITIVE TO THE FACT THAT ANGOLA IS A COMPARATIVELY RICH, UNDERPOPULATED COUNTRY WITH SUBSTANTIAL NATURAL RESOURCES, INCLUDING CABINDAN OIL. THE SOVIET NAVY WOULD PROBABLY, AT THE VERY LEAST, FIND IT USEFUL TO HAVE ACCESS TO ANGOLAN PORTS ON A BASIS SIMILAR TO THAT AVAILABLE IN GUINEA. IN ANY CASE, WE DO NOT FIND CHONA'S THESIS ON THE SOVIET GRAND STRATEGY FOR AFRICA (LUSAKA 115) TO BE ENTIRELY IMPLAUSIBLE, EVEN THOUGH THE INITIAL SOVIET IMPLUSE MAY FLOW MORE FROM EXPLOITING TARGETTS OF OPPORTUNITY THAN EXECUTING A MASTER PLAN.

4. THE CUBAN FACTOR. FOR A COMBINATION OF THE ABOVE REASONS THE POLITBURO PROBABLY FELT IT HAD LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO TAKE ACTION IN ANGOLA TO SUPPORT THE MPLA. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS A QUICK POWERFUL STROKE THAT WOULD TURN THE TABLES IN FAVOR OF THEIR OWN CLIENT AND THUS PUT THE SOVIETS IN A STRONGER BARGAINING POSITION. SINCE THE MPLA ITSELF WAS PROBABLY IN NO POSITION TO UTILIZE THE MASSIVE SOVIET AID ACCORDED TO IT, THE SOVIETS DECEIDED TO MAKE USE OF A CUBAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE. OUR GUESS WOULD BE, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS ARE WELL AWARE OF THE REALITY OF THE SITUATION IN

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ANGOLA AND PROBABLY SEE THE DANGER OF THE CUBANS REMAINING FOR AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF TIME IN HOSTILE TERRITORY AS AN OCCUPYING FORCE. FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH, SEVERAL OF OUR SOVIET CONTACTS HAVE ASSERTED STRONGLY THAT THE USSR DOES NOT DESIRE A "MILITARY SOLUTION" IN ANGOLA, WHILE OTHERS HAVE RECENTLY HINGTED THAT AN MPLA/UNITA COALITION MIGHT BE THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION.

5. MOSCOW'S OBJECTIVES. THE SOVIETS OBVIOUSLY HAVE DECIDED TO MAKE A MAJOR COMMITMENT TO ENSURE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED BY THE MPLA, ASSISTED AND SUPPORTED BY THE USSR, WHICH WOULD DERIVE A FAVORABLE POSITION COMPARABLE TO WHAT IT CURRENTLY ENJOYS IN GUINEA

AND SOMALIA. A "COALITION GOVERNMENT" UNDER MPLA
HEGEMONY IS QUITE CONSISTENT WITH SUCH A SOVIET
AIM SO LONG AS THE MPLA WOULD REMAIN THE DOMINANT
FORCE. WHAT THE SOVIETS PROBABLY DESIRE IS A
VICTORY IN ANGOLA WHICH WOULD TAKE PLACE GRADUALLY
ENOUGH SO THAT SOVIET DETENTE INTERESTS ARE NOT
AFFECTED THEREBY. IF THE SOVIETS SAW GOOD PROSPECTS
FOR SUCH A GRADUAL VICTORY THEY WOULD PROBABLY
RESIST PRESSURE FROM THE MPLA ITSELF, OR PERHAPS
FROM THE CUBANS, TO GO FRO BROKE IN ANGOLA.

6. FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA. IN THIS
REGARD, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS DID NOT ACHIEVE THE
OPTIMUM AT THE RECENT OAU CONFERENCE, THEY ARE
ALMOST CERTAINLY PLEASED WITH THEIR LONG RANGE
AFRICAN POLICY OF PATIENT SUPPORT FOR "NATIONAL
LIBERATION," AND REGARD OVERALL TENDENCIES AS MOVING
IN THEIR DIRECTION. RELATIONS WITH CERTAIN KEY
COUNTRIES SEEM TO HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED, E.G., NIGERIA,
CHANA, TANZANIA, AND MOZAMBIQUE (WHICH PREVIOUSLY LEANED
TO CHINA). NETO HIMSELF IS
GENUINELY POPULAR WITH SEVERAL IMPORTANT AFRICAN
COUNTRIES, SUCH AS TANZANIA WHICH MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR THE
SOVIETS TO RIDE ON HIS COATTAILS TO A DEGREE. IN SOVIET EYES THE
U.S. IS PAYING THE INEVITABLE PRICE OF BEING
POPULARLY IDENTIFIED IN AFRICA (NO MATTER HOW
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UNJUSTLY) AS A FORMER SUPPORTER OF PORTUGUESE
COLONIALISM AND A PRESENT SUPPORTER OF WHITE
REGIMES IN THE SOUTH. FINALLY, IF THE MPLA RACKS
UP FURTHER MILITARY VICTORIES, THE SOVIETS PROBABLY HOPE TO
GARNER ADDITIONAL BACKING IN AFRICA.

7. UNEXPECTED EVENTS. ESPECIALLY INLIGHT OF
THE SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT, THE SOVIETS WERE,
HOWEVER, PROBABLY SURPRISED AT THE VEHEMENCE OF AT
LEAST SOME OF THE AFRICAN MODERATES WHO CONTINUE TO
OPPOSE SOVIET AND CUBAN INTERFERENCE IN AFRICAN
AFFAIRS. THEY WERE ALSO SEEMINGLY GENUINELY SUR-
PRISED BY THE PUBLIC REACTION IN THE UNITED STATES
AND BY THE PRIMACY WHICH THE ANGOLA SITUATION NOW
HAS IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. IN FACT, THIS DETENTE
CONNECTION HAS PROBABLY BEEN THE SINGLE MOST
IMPORTANT MISTAKE MOSCOW POLICYMAKERS HAVE MADE
REGARDING ANGOLA. WHILE IT IS STILL ONLY ONE OF
MANY FACTORS IN THEIR CALCULATIONS, IT HAS CLEARLY
BECOME AN EXTREMELY SERIOUS ONE.

8. THE U.S. ANGLE. IT THEREFORE SEEMS TO US THAT

EXCEPT FOR ITS EFFECT ON RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. THE SOVIETS HAVE NO REASON TO FEEL DISSATISFIED WITH THE POLICIES THEY HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING IN ANGOLA. FURTHERMORE, IT IS PERHAPS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THAT AT LEAST SOME KREMLIN "AMERICA EXPERTS," AS NOTED ABOVE, POSSIBLY SINGED ON TO THE ORIGINAL DECISION TO STEP UP THE SOVIET EFFORT IN ANGOLA ON THE GROUNDS THAT DOMESTIC PRESSURES IN THE UNITED STATES PRECLUDED A TOUGH U.S. RESPONSE TO SUCH SOVIET MOVES. IF THIS IS THE CASE, "EXPERTSZ WILL FIND IT BUREAUCRATICALLY DIFFICULT AT THIS STAGE TO TURN AROUND AND ARGUE THAT ANGOLA COULD HAVE A LASTING HARMFUL EFFECT ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. MORE IMPORTANT, THE SOVIETS PROBABLY BELIEVE THAT, GIVEN OUR DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES, THE VARIOUS CONCRETE LEVERS AVAILABLE TO US FOR DEALING WITH THE KREMLIN OVER ANGOLA ARE NOT VERY IMPRESSIVE. UNLESS WE ARE CAPABLE OF RESPONDING EFFECTIVELY ON THE GROUND, SALT IS TOO IMPORTANT TO CONNECT WITH ANGOLA, WE HAVE

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ALREADY RULED OUT GRAIN, MFN WAS ONLY A DISTANT HOPE ANYWAY, AND CUTTING DOWN EXCHANGES WOULD BE INEFFECTIVE AND PERHAPS INAPPROPRIATE. MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, THE TOP LEADERS IN THE KREMLIN PROBABLY DO NOT REALLY UNDERSTAND THE POSSIBLE LONG TERM EFFECTS WHICH ANGOLA COULD HAVE ON U.S. VIEWS OF THE USSR.

9. THE SOVIET DILEMMA. WHILE INTERNAL PRESSURE TO CHANGE POLICY IN ANGOLA IS THEREFORE NOT LIKELY TO BE VERY GREAT, MOSCOW DOES NOT WANT ANGOLA TO IMPINGE ON DETENTE, TO AFFECT U.S. PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS, AND ESPECIALLY TO INFLUENCE THE U.S. ELECTIONS. BUT IT CANNOT AFFORD A DEFEAT OR A WITHDRAWAL UNDER OBVIOUS PRESSURE. AT THIS STAGE THE KREMLIN OBVIOUSLY WOULD NOT WANT TO BE CHARGED WITH "SELLING OUT" ITS CLIENTS AND IT COULD BE TO SOME EXTENT IN PAWN TO NETO, AS IT WAS TO HANOI FROM 1965-1975.

10. THE LIMITS OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY. AT THE SAME TIME, THE KREMLIN DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE THE U.S., OR ANYONE ELSE, THE IMPRESSION THAT WASHINGTON HAS SIGNIFICANT LEVERAGE BECAUSE OF MOSCOW'S DESIRE TO ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS OF PROPONENTS OF DETENTE IN THE UPCOMING U.S. ELECTIONS. GIVEN THE EXTENT

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OF THEIR COMMITMENT, ANY MOVE THE SOVIETS MAKE TO
REDUCE THEIR (AND CUBA'S) PRESENCE, IF ANNOUNCED
AT ALL, WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE JUSTIFIED ON
PRACTICAL GROUNDS--I.E., THE ASSISTANCE IS NO
LONGER NEEDED--RATHER THAN ON GROUNDS OF PRINCIPLE.
IN ANY CASE, A SETTLEMENT WITHOUT QUICK AND CLEAR
SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA APPEARS MOST
UNLIKELY. BUT THE DEPARTURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS
MIGHT POSSIBLY FORM THE BASIS FOR A SOLUTION WHICH
THE SOVIETS COULD BUY SINCE IT COULD BE PORTRAYED
AS A CLEAR VICTORY -- I.E., RESOLUTE SOVIET ACTION
FORCED THE RACIST AGGRESSORS OUT OF ANGOLA. IF
THE SOUTH AFRICANS WERE TO WITHDRAW, SOVIET SUPPLIES
OF NEW EQUIPMENT COULD BE SCALED DOWN, AND IF THE
U.S. SUPPLY LINEK RUNS DRY, NETO WOULD BE LEFT
IN A FAVORABLE MILITARY POSTURE. SOME CUBANS COULD
ALSO BE WITHDRAWN WHILE OTHERS COULD BE LIMITED MORE
AND MORE TO SUPPORT AND ADVISORY ROLES, IN ORDER TO
AVOID CASUALTIES AND PRISONERS. AT SOME POINT,
THE CUBANS WOULD HAVE TO GO. BUT THE SOVIETS,
HAVING DEMONSTRATED CONVINCING WILLINGNESS TO COUNTER
ANY MOVES TO DISPLACE THE MPLA, COULD WITHDRAW INTO
THE BACKGROUND AND ALLOW FOR AN "AFRICAN" SOLUTION
TO THE ANGOLA PROBLEM, AT THE SAME TIME GUARANTEEING
MPLA CONTROL OF AT LEAST THE CENTRAL AND CABINDAN
AREAS OF THE COUNTRY, AND PERHAPS OF THE NORTH AS

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WELL. SUCH A SOLUTION WOULD CLEARLY LEAVE THE MPLA IN A STRONG POSITION TO EXTEND ITS POWER MILITARILY. THIS, IN TURN, COULD CREATE STEADY PRESSURE IN AFRICA FOR ADDITIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA REGIME. IN OTHER WORDS, ANY NEGOTIATED OUTCOME WHICH SEEMS FEASIBLE TO US WOULD NOT BE A HAPPY ONE FOR U.S. POLICY. BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, WE CANNOT CONCEIVE OF THE SOVIETS SETTLING FOR LESS, AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE.

11. IN SUM, THE CURRENT SOVIET ASSESSMENT IS PROBABLY THAT THEY HAD AMPLE REASON FOR TAKING RESOLUTE ACTION IN ANGOLA AND ARE OPERATING FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH. GIVEN THE EXTENT OF THEIR INVESTMENT, THEY CANNOT NOW AFFORD TO ACCEPT ANY SOLUTION WHICH WOULD SEEM TO ENCOMPASS A LOSS OF FACE. HOWEVER, FOR REASONS OF DETENTE AND THE FUTURE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE INDUCED TO BUY SOME SORT OF COMPROMISE WHICH FAVORED THE MPLA. WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES (WHICH COULD BE IN OUR INTERESTS AS WELL) IS POSSIBLY THE KEY TO REACHING SOME SORT OF SOLUTION TO THE ANGOLAN DILEMMA.

12. DEPARTMENT PASS OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERVENTION, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW00771
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760019-1092
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760144/aaaabneg.tel
Line Count: 467
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 FEB 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <18 FEB 2004 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <01 SEP 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET POLICY IN ANGOLA
TAGS: PFOR, UR, AO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006